# The COMMONWEAL

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THE WEEK 155

BACKGROUND OF A CONFERENCE *R. P. Walsh* 158

WHAT HAPPENED IN LONDON *John C. Cort* 160

CATHOLIC UNIONS *Canon A. de Onaindia* 164

COMMUNICATIONS 165

THE SCREEN *Philip T. Hartung* 167

EDITORS' CHOICE 168
*These are the Russians*

MORE BOOKS OF THE WEEK 169
*International Tribunals — Pleasant Valley — Youth Is the Time — The Builders of the Bridge—Walls Rise Up—Speaking of How to Pray—The Cleansing of the Temple—Through Japanese Eyes — Japanese Militarism, Its Causes and Cure — A Padre Views South America*



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## *A Moment for Taking Stock*

AS THE army, air and naval forces of the United States and Britain converge upon the Japanese areas in the Pacific, it is propitious to decide exactly what our future rôle in the Orient is to be. The extent to which the American people are willing to commit themselves to police work in the Japanese islands, and elsewhere, should determine much about the termination of the war. The only possible correlate to the war of annihilation we now appear to be waging is a willingness to remain in force on the Japanese islands for many years. For the annihilation of which our forces are capable if the war goes on without surrender will create a vacuum which must be filled. Are we willing to occupy Japan to the extent that such a political vacuum would require, or will we not want to depend somewhat on responsible national elements for the maintenance of the requisite minimum of law and order? If we should do away with the Japanese Emperor, with what should we replace him ? And, on the other hand, could the war be considered won so long as the Japanese war lords continue in reach of power? First we must decide the extent of the undertaking we deem necessary for the maintenance of peace and order in the Orient; then the nature of acceptable surrender terms will become apparent.

Everyone agrees that the Japanese military position is hopeless; defeat is a mere question of time. But that time is measured in terms of lives, separations and all that goes with as bitter an all-out war as now proceeds on Okinawa. There are leaders in Japan eager to end the hopeless struggle. And as our air raids become increasingly destructive, the voices of the seven powerful industrial families, seeking to preserve what they can of their goods and facilities, should have greater weight in the imperial councils. When genuine peace feelers come—if they have not already—we must be prepared. We must have definitely drawn up our minimum demands as to territories and personnel. President Truman's reported willingness to talk about terms is an encouraging sign. But it all goes back to a clear formulation of American aims and commitments in the Pacific.

If after the last war the Wilsonian slogan on the right to national self-determination swept the former components of the Central Empires like a prairie fire, a similar urge is now inflaming the colonial peoples of the world. A crushing military defeat will not stamp out the Japanese cry of "Asia for the Asiatics." We are already pledged to the independence of the Philippines. Nothing could be more fitting, more in line with American traditions, more in the interest of colonial peoples everywhere than for the United States to come forward as their champion. America should be known the world over as the advocate of genuine autonomy, the greatest possible autonomy in each individual case, for all colonial peoples. And not only a degree of autonomy immediately, but the progressive steps, definite, specific—with dates attached—leading to full-fledged independence. To be consistent the United States would then have to agree to trusteeship in the name of the United Nations—not outright ownership—for such bases as we have built up in the Pacific Islands. Another far-seeing national decision of incalculable importance.

Finally, no policy in the Pacific can be complete without a solid economic base. If, for instance, American tariff walls are to shut out the produce of the Philippines—as our Western agricultural interests planned when they so successfully agitated for the islands' independence—the land of our gallant comrades in battle will be ravaged from within. With political independence our responsibility for the Filipinos will not end; how can we deprive them of their very means of sustenance? Likewise, provision for a decent existence must accompany the emancipation of every group of colonial peoples. To abandon them either to a rival empire or to certain destitution would be equally foolhardy.


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### *What's Happened to MVA?*

THE Senate's approval of Mr. Lilienthal as director of the Tennessee Valley Authority with only two dissenting votes (one of them his implacable enemy, Senator McKellar) signalizes the resounding success of one of the most ambitious government projects ever attempted anywhere. It raises the question, as did the spring floods, as to what is holding up the establishment of a Missouri Valley Authority, so long awaited. About all that is definite is that one of three Senate committees which can report out the enabling legislation turned it down.

There are various ways of calculating the contribution which an MVA would make to the national well-being. The *Progressive* of Madison, Wisconsin, estimates that at TVA rates an MVA would for one thing have saved electricity users in nine states $106,000,000 in 1944. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for May 15 tells of a high pressure campaign by the power companies against MVA, citing Senator Murray of Montana to the effect that one New York advertising agency "had sent into the valley nine high-powered public relations men (at $1,000 a month apiece) to foment opposition to MVA among business and civic groups and state and local government bodies." What that is comparable is the public doing in *its* own interest?

### *The European Caldron*

IN RECENT days things have been happening fast and opinions have been undergoing sharp modification in connection with what Russia intends in Europe and with what we should do to keep relations between ourselves and the Russians reasonably harmonious. The problem of Poland becomes more and more difficult to judge and even to understand. Certainly some of the blame for this lies with the Poles themselves, who give very little indication that history or the passage of events has taught them anything about the art of self-government: at least this may be said concerning those Poles from whom we hear most frequently, the London group. More and more they give evidence of allowing their hatred of Russia—not of communism, but of Russia—to outweigh everything else. It now turns out that the status of the 16 arrested Poles is nothing like as clear as we had been led to suppose. One must still sharply reprehend Russia's action in the matter, and a great deal might have been avoided had it not been for the Russian fetish of secrecy. Yet the attitude of injured innocence on the part of the London Poles has turned into something of a boomerang. And on top of all this Cardinal Hlond in Rome informs the world that religious conditions in Poland proper—that is, in the area not definitively taken over by Russia—are fairly good, certainly much better than under German domination, though His Eminence remarks that communications are even more difficult than they were before. The picture is very cloudy, and anyone who sincerely believes that he can disentangle from it a thread of true justice is invited to try. Meanwhile Tito seems to be acting with reasonable caution in Trieste, where he certainly has no business to be at all, however well he may act. And from France, from an official French communist paper, comes a broadside against our own Earl Browder's "party line." The whole picture is confused, and a prompt meeting of Messrs. Truman, Churchill and Stalin is badly needed.

### *Confidence Again*

NO SOONER had the editorial for the last issue of THE COMMONWEAL concerning confidence and the press been readied for publication than another aspect of the same problem arose in connection with the Congressional "investigation" of conditions in veterans' hospitals. Clearly Congressman Rankin was more concerned in investigating those who had complained about conditions in these institutions than he was in investigating the real point at issue. One of the most prominent complainants in this connection had been Mr. Albert Deutsch of *PM*. When he was called before Rankin's committee, he refused to divulge the names of five men who had given him information in confidence. At once the committee voted to introduce a resolution finding Mr. Deutsch in contempt of Congress. An outcry has followed, and there is a strong likelihood that Mr. Deutsch will not suffer for his perfectly proper refusal to divulge confidential sources of information. The other side of the question we discussed last week—the observance of matter revealed in confidence—is the keeping confidential of sources which cannot be revealed for fear of reprisals and loss of livelihood. The privileged condition of the press in this regard—like that of clergymen, doctors and, to some extent, lawyers—badly needs to be given the legal status already possessed by the latter three groups.

## Transcontinental

THE *Commodore Vanderbilt* came out of Chicago and there was a warehouse wall, a wooden church, and then freight cars, at first one car after another, and then just the flash of light between the cars, and then the train was going fast already and so it was not one backyard and then another, but one backyard in each ten; there would be an instant in which you would see that all the windows were broken and then—but already it would be in another house—that there was a wrecked car in the backyard, and then—twenty houses further—that three Negro children

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in the backyard stood surrounded by tin cans. A church again. Hospital. Ball game. Boy running into second. Soap factory. Freight cars, freight cars, freight cars, of a freight train.

The *Daily Mirror* has a two line banner head: "How Army Will Release Men." Beneath (arrow) Starace stands with his back to a firing squad; (2) "the volley of shots smashes into Starace's body and the dreadful impact nearly lifts him from the ground."

We are clear of Chicago, past Gary. Some people can work in a train. In the morning it will be the Hudson, the wind ruffling the surface of the river and yesterday what was it? It is hard to tell because the nights intervene. Wyoming, there was a lot of Wyoming. But perhaps that was the day before yesterday. In the old days you would travel at night and the train would stop for a long time in the stations, in many stations, and they would call out the names of the stations, but it was always from Boston to New York, or from Paris to Marseilles, short distances, not the way it is when you are crossing the continent; the trains would stop and they would take off a car or put on a car and you would know where you were. On the fast trains from San Francisco to New York you would know where you are during the daytime—approximately; that is to say you know whether it is a desert, or the heavy trees beside the river in the valley with the farm land and the farms—but at night you do not know anything. There may be sheep or horses or cattle in the fields; the industry may be oil or coal; you do not know, and in the morning it is the porter who knows where we are now, and we will be coming soon into Laramie or Cheyenne, and it is not really before you see a place like Newburgh or something and you are having breakfast in the dining car that you know that this is the Hudson River.

So that there was all this continent traversed and there was nothing whatever in the smoking room, or in the club car, or in the dining room of the train, from which I could extract a report on how the nation feels about the war with Japan, or what the nation thinks about the sixteen Poles. And there was nothing I could extract from the landscape—the daytime landscape—except an immense desire to stay still in any one of the million places which composed it.

The interesting conversations I had in San Francisco lost all interest; no delegates from any nation sat conferring where there was no hotel, no Opera House, no Federal Building in the colored desert after Reno; no newspapermen hurried to press conferences where a man fished from a row boat with the light coming between clouds over Sandusky Bay; the only newspaperman was Bob Considine, sitting with me in drawing room E, who told me about a double play: one down; a man on second; the batter hit a hard line drive; the ball hit the pitcher on the forehead; bounced back; the catcher caught the ball; threw to second: man on second out; batter out; side out. Pitcher out for half an hour. In San Francisco for instance there was the talk with Louis Saillant, Secretary General of the French CGT (Trade Unions), President of the CNR (Resistance Movement). He had come from France to Oakland for the labor conference, by way of Canada. So that he had not seen America at all; he did not speak English. For half an hour M. Saillant explained the American press to me. That talk had lost all interest. That was not a very bright conversation and there would be no reason to remember it; but there were the talks with Indalecio Prieto and they were all the Spanish war again and the Spanish hopes—yet from Gary, from the train, they had become remote also and not real.

The only talk that held still an interest for me was not talk; it was a moment on V.E. day in the lobby of the Palace Hotel. That day, if it had not been for the newspapers you would never have known that the war was over in Europe. Toward the afternoon some workmen seemed engaged in placing poles topped by American flags along the sidewalk on a downtown street. I should have worried more about it, but I still do not know how they made the poles stand up on the sidewalks. If no one shows any emotion about something it is difficult to feel emotion. I looked at myself and at the engagement I had for dinner; I looked for the emotion that I knew must be within me and I could not see it. (The men who had died in Italy, in Africa, in France, in Germany and the men who now were not to die that way—and also not just the people I had known but the people my friends had known.) There was reason enough for emotion, even in San Francisco, even when I knew that they were thinking here about the Pacific. I could discover only an anxiety about this lack of emotion. I was wondering also if the cigar stand in the lobby would sell me cigarettes. Then Mlle. de Miribel of the French Delegation passed me. She did not stop. There was no conversation. She had pinned on a tricolor rosette. She said only as she passed me I am sending a cable to my family. The memory of that instant remained.

In Paris in the last war we thought that everything had been accomplished and of course there were those crowds in the streets, the delight and the tears, which will remain in my mind always. But for this war, it just happens, it is just an accident, that all that will remain for the end of the war in Europe will be a Frenchwoman in a hotel lobby in San Francisco who could not stop to speak because she was going to the Western Union desk to send a cable to her family.

C. G. PAULDING.

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# *Background of a Conference*

## How old problems trouble world labor unity

*R. P. Walsh*

*The three articles which follow give a full account of the international labor meeting in London which held its sessions during the month of February and which led to certain declarations of principle for a future world federation of trade unions. At the London meeting, as is explained below, an administrative committee was named to formulate an actual constitution for the future federation. This committee met in Washington early in April and then adjourned to Oakland, California, situated conveniently near the San Francisco Conference, where the draft constitution was finished. Under this draft a sliding scale for representation in the new federation was worked out which gives the predominance of delegates to countries having between* 1,000,000 *and* 6,000,000 *organized union members, thus preventing any disproportionate weight going to the workers of any single country. In September there will be another meeting of delegates from all branches of organized labor, to which this constitution will be submitted for approval. This September meeting will be held in Paris.*—THE EDITORS.

THE LONDON conference was remarkable for many things. The Russians were there having shed somewhere en route, without any noise or fuss, their own international of Red Unions. The CIO was there for its first international assembly outside of the Americas. The AFL was not there and human nature being what it is this regrettable absence was to be expected. Those old enemies the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions were both there. Left wing Toledano and Right Wing Citrine were there. Jews and Arabs from Palestine and men from Britain's subject races were all eager to use this great opportunity to tell the world of their problems and their hopes.

A substantial sum of agreement was reached, even if, as one CIO delegate remarked in conversation, it was reached by ignoring the points on which there would have been disagreement. This agreement between the diverse forces that gathered in London was the major triumph of the Conference. It was easy to get British, Americans and Russians to agree that we must defeat fascism and that German militarism must be rooted out. That was easy because it meant no more than that we had to win the war.

Yet the agreement went deeper than that. Men from all round the world were there trying, with all the good will they could muster, "to build," in the words of Reid Robinson (CIO), "a structure of international brotherhood and solidarity that will be worthy of the vast sacrifices and sufferings of men and women of the working class in this greatest struggle against tyranny."

The second major triumph of the Conference must go to the credit of the delegates of the Committee of Industrial Organizations. On the first day of the Conference press men and many delegates were sure that the whole affair was cut and dried. They told off the voting strength on their fingers. Whatever Russia wanted she would get because she would be able to count on the support of France, South America and the CIO.

The CIO did not play ball. Its delegates demanded that a world organization should be built. But it was not to be one dominated by any power, Britain or Soviet Russia or even the United States. It was to be a world organization in which all people would be brothers, and all *bona fide* trade union organizations would be welcome to join, even if there were more than one such body in a country. Thus the CIO killed the attempt to bring power politics into the conference hall, saved the Christian Trade Unions of France, Belgium and Holland, and kept the door open for the AFL.

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The first of the trade union internationals was also born in London, in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, on September 28, 1864. It was known as the International Working Men's Association, and has gone down into history as the First International.

It also gathered together characters as diverse as Carey and Toledano, as Citrine and Kuznetsov. Among its first leaders were Karl Marx, Mazzini and Robert Applegarth. As opposed to the new International, it was dominated by one nation, Britain. Mazzini withdrew in a huff, Marx was ill and the English trade unionists remained in control. In their usual insular way these Englishmen set about giving to the Continent the benefits



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of British trade unionism. They had a measure of success and the growth of trade unionism in Switzerland, Germany and France owed something to the activity of that First International.

It taught that international bodies could help their weaker members and that is a lesson still worth recalling. There was another lesson, also applicable to our day, taught by the First International. The British leaders were mainly concerned about trade union matters proper and did not worry about the fight between Marx, the socialist, and Bakunin, the anarchist. To their horror they found how great was Marx's influence in the International and that they had published, over the signature of the General Council, Marx's "Civil War in France," a defense of an attempt by workers to destroy their government by violence. The English element resigned and the power of the International began to wane. And this teaches us to watch out lest political leaders usurp the trade union functions of a trade union international.

Even today we have the same difference between the trade union movement on the Continent of Europe and that in Great Britain and the United States which existed between sections of the First International, when at a conference in 1886 James Mawdsley, a cotton worker from Lancashire, stood up and told the delegates from Europe that he "did not understand their socialism, he had not studied it."

The same gulf was seen in London when the Catholic delegates to the Conference met and M. Gaston Tessier tried to explain why in France there was a parallel growth of Christian and Socialist trade unions.

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The second trade union international was the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) founded in 1901 in Copenhagen and still in existence. It was founded by delegates from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Belgium, France and Great Britain and based itself on the famous rule that has meant the exclusion of the CIO from its ranks. The Central Body in each country was to send delegates and, strictly interpreted, this denied the possibility of more than one Central Body existing in any one country. As the AFL was a member of the IFTU, no other body in the United States could be accepted.

The IFTU was formally set up at a Dublin Conference in 1904 and then had nearly two and a half million members affiliated to it, a number that grew to almost nine millions in 1914.

The first IFTU conference at which the AFL was represented was that of 1909, in Paris. Reporting back after this, Samuel Gompers recommended affiliation and his Federation convention accepted his recommendation. After the 1914-18 war Gompers took no part in the February, 1919, Conference (which led to the founding of the ILO) because ex-enemy countries were represented. But he attended the Amsterdam Conference held in the same year. This was a stormy one and in the final voting Britain and America were together on the losing side with the rest of Europe unanimous against them. One of the clashes was a resolution that IFTU would participate in the first International Labor Conference only on condition that Germany and Austria were invited.

In 1920, the Montreal AFL convention disaffiliated itself. It actually left the decision to the Executive but there was little doubt in the delegates' minds of the result. It is probable that a major worry in the American minds was the socialist bias of IFTU.

All contact was not broken because side by side with IFTU there existed, and still exists, the International Trade Secretariats, uniting unions covering the same trade round the world. The AFL rejoined IFTU at the Warsaw Council meeting in July, 1937, when the delegates hoped that there would shortly be established unity between AFL and CIO.

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The London Conference echoed those controversies of the past. Once again British delegates spoke against invitations being sent to ex-enemy countries. As Sir Walter Citrine pointed out, it was against the considered opinion of the British TUC, just as it was in 1919. This time the United States was not completely on the side of Britain. The CIO was prepared to welcome Italian delegates but very suspicious of delegates from Bulgaria and Rumania. The rest of Europe was once again united against the two English-speaking countries.

Citrine also expressed Britain's concern about the voting position and he pointedly remarked on the strong Russian delegation (35 actual delegates; the CIO had 11 and Great Britain had 14). Here the CIO did line up with Britain and, more than that, took the lead.

This was really an echo of old controversies inside the IFTU. In 1921 a rival international was set up in Moscow known as the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU). This was predominantly a Russian body though delegates attended from 42 countries, including IWW men from the United States. At various times efforts were made to unite the IFTU and the Red International, but they failed since Russia always wanted special concession because of the numbers and finance she would bring into any international.

Thus the London conference was once again a trial of strength between Russia and her friends,

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principally Toledano, and the advocates of some system that would be fair to all, big and small. The victory was for the small nations and it was won by the CIO.

The complete issue is still not resolved. The nature of the Soviet trade unions is still a major reason keeping the AFL out of this new international. They are state-organs and cannot be called free trade unions is the claim and therefore they should not be invited into conference with the free unions of the world.

The CIO, on the other hand, seems to take the attitude that whatever we think about the Russian system and Russian trade unions the fact remains that the USSR embraces a large part of the workers of the world and will after the war dominate an area of Europe that will be very extensive; that to leave them out would create an artificial atmosphere; that to bring them in at least keeps the relations aboveboard and avoids underhand work, such as the bringing to life of the Red International with all the trouble that body caused in various countries.

That is one problem that must be resolved in the next year. Obviously, or so it seems to an Englishman, world trade union unity is unreal while the AFL is outside it. That problem is difficult, but it must be solved. Another problem is to become certain that all the members of the new international really mean what they say.

Mr. Sidorenko and Mme. Shulga were Russia's representatives on a Committee on the Furtherance of the Allied War Effort. Their report was supported by the entire Russia delegation. It speaks of the importance of the "immediate establishment of the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, political associations . . ." Did the Russians mean that?

That is a problem. World unity is vital for a true peace, but it must rest on a real unity, not one achieved by ignoring the points on which there is disagreement. The committee set up by the conference to build the new international is faced with that problem and it is not made any easier by the fact that the committee is composed of 41 delegates, though to assure real unity all the diversity of those 41 must accept common principles.

# *What Happened in London*

## An American view of the conference

*John C. Cort*

THE really big news to come out of the London World Trade Union Conference was that the Soviet trade unions had crashed world labor society. After years of being held well beyond the end of a ten-foot pole, the Russians not only obtained an *entrée,* but received almost shock-proof guarantees that they would have permanent *entrée* to the new world labor organization that is now in the works.

The background of this new and most important development is extremely complex. First, there is the dying International Federation of Trade Unions. The IFTU, also called "the Amsterdam international," is 40 years old and has been dominated mostly by Socialist and Social Democrat elements, plus the American AFL. It has consistently refused to admit more than one labor federation from each country, thus keeping out the CIO, the Catholic, and most of the communist, unions of Europe and South America, or to admit state-controlled federations, thus excluding the unions of fascist and communist countries, notably Russia. Its last refusal, and its last real meeting before this year, was at Zurich in 1939. The president of the IFTU is Sir Walter Citrine of England, its general secretary Walter Schevenels of Belgium. They speak for 17,000,000 workers in 19 countries.

Then came the war. The IFTU moved from Amsterdam to London and went into a state of suspended animation. Labor leaders in the French underground charged that it not only threw no weight in the war effort, but specifically that Schevenels ignored their pleas for help. How much this indifference was based on anti-communism, how much on inertia, it is impossible to say. Certainly Schevenels didn't wear out more than his quota of shoe leather. The general impression seems to be that he did wear out more than his quota of trouser seats.

Meanwhile Russia, attacked by her former partner, was killing Germans in wholesale lots and winning a berth on the Big Three. She was also winning a place in the hearts of English trade unionists, who were particularly impressed by the fact that they no longer had to dive for the bomb shelters every night, but could stay home for a change and get some sleep. The men who lead

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the British TUC are, with very few exceptions, no left-wingers. Far from it. But they could not be insensitive to pressure from below. And even less could they be insensitive to the fact that the IFTU, or any international organization without the Russian unions, could expect to have little influence in a world in which Stalin had not only become acceptable in the best circles, but was himself helping to draw up the social register.

In consequence the British TUC decided to issue its invitation to all the labor organizations of "free nations"—meaning non-Fascist. The AFL, which had already refused to sit with the Russians in a proposed Anglo-American-Soviet Trade Union Committee, even more hotly refused to sit with the Russians and the CIO in a world labor conference. Reluctantly the English decided to go ahead without them. How reluctantly may be gathered from the fact that right up to last fall the TUC had turned a consistent cold shoulder to the eager advances of the CIO. On several trips to America Citrine had ignored the CIO and accepted William Green's claims to the effect that the younger organization was just a house of cards that would collapse completely at the end of the war.

And so the delegates converged upon London. And as they gathered there were staged for their benefit two interesting little curtain-raisers. The first was a meeting of the International Labor Organization, a tripartite body (labor-employers-and-government) which has the honor of being the only surviving child of the League of Nations. At this meeting Vicente Lombardo Toledano, workers' delegate from Mexico and extremely articulate president of the communist-dominated Latin-American Confederation of Labor (CTAL), asked why Russia was not represented in the ILO. To which replied Robert J. Watt, AFL, workers delegate from the US, "If after a suitable courtship the lady is still unwilling, in the words of the American workingman, so what?" The reference, of course, was to Russia's unwillingness to join an agency related to a League which harked back to the days of her unrespectability and which, in fact, had expelled her for the attack on Finland. This question, however, was to come up again.

The second curtain-raiser was a meeting (February 1-2) of the general council of the IFTU itself, some 70-odd delegates from 15 countries. The meeting opened with a full-scale blast by delegates of the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT) who charged that the IFTU had failed to assist the underground labor movements of Europe. Schevenels hotly defended himself, with the help of Watt and British delegates. The meeting then turned to the question of changing the constitution to admit dual organizations (CIO, etc.) and the Russian unions. Although a special committee had spent over two years preparing a favorable report, and this report had been ratified "in principle" by the TUC, the general council proceeded to side-step the whole question by merely voting to refer it to affiliates and discuss it again at the next meeting in September. This action seems incredible when you consider the fact that all but one delegate stayed in London and voted a few days later for an organization that would include both dual and Russian unions. Of course, some of them, like the Frenchmen, simply didn't care and figured that this was as handy a way as any for the IFTU to cut its own throat. But the main answer to their queer conduct lay with the one delegate who didn't stay, Robert J. Watt of the AFL. It was not simply that he had dropped a threat that the AFL would walk out when CIO and Soviet unions walked in. There was also the well-known fact that the AFL was raising a fund of $1,000,000 for the rebuild- of free, democratic, non-communist unions in Europe and elsewhere, after the war. Who could be expected to risk the displeasure of Mr. Watt under such circumstances?

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On February 6 the "World Trade Union Conference" came to order in County Hall, London, with 166 delegates and 40 "observers" representing about 55,000,000 workers organized in 48 federations from 35 countries. The Russians, used to doing things in a big way, sent 35 delegates, claimed representation of 27,00,000 workers and immediately pressed for a voting system by membership. The British TUC had 15 delegates representing 7,000,000 members and the CIO 12 delegates for 6,000,000 members (including the servicemen). Toledano claimed to speak for 4,000,000 Latin Americans in the CTAL. The French CGT claimed another 4,000,000. In both cases the emphasis is on "claimed," but particularly in the case of Toledano. Many of the delegates, of course, spoke for workers who would not know what they had said until the happy day when Hitler was finally crushed. The Chinese and the Indians had their delegates. Also the Arabs and the Palestinean Jews and the Negro workers in the British colonies. The Catholic unions of France, Belgium and Holland were represented, stronger and more confident since they had proved their mettle in the anti-nazi underground. And of course there were the communists, a solid bloc of them in the Soviet delegation, a goodly sprinkling here and there in the other delegations. For most of the delegates this was their first labor meeting. They were enthusiastic, eager and for the greater part impatient with the exclusive and inactive IFTU.

No one could say with finality, but it seems fairly accurate to estimate the lineup of the con-

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ference, *vis-à-vis* communism, as about two fifths anti, two fifths pro, and one fifth wandering around in the middle with no fixed ideas of its own. The pro's were particularly strong among the LatinAmericans and on the key delegation from the French CGT. The latter had gone underground in 1940 controlled by the socialists and issued into the open air of liberation in 1944 under the firm domination of its communist wing. Its president, Louis Saillant, is a *syndicaliste* (French for straight trade unionist with anarchist tendencies), but sufficiently amenable to the party line, for example, to make a speech at London for admission of the Polish unions set up by the Stalinist government at Lublin. In the CIO delegation there were four Party-liners: John Abt (PAC attorney), Joe Curran (seamen), Albert Fitzgerald (electrical), and Reid Robinson (smelter). The other CIO delegates were James B. Carey (CIO secretary), Sherman Dalrymple (rubber), John Green (shipbuilding), Allan Haywood (organizational director), Sidney Hillman (clothing), Martin C. Kyne (retail), Michael Ross (shipbuilding), and R. J. Thomas (auto). Thomas was CIO chairman and co-chairman of the conference with Kuznetsov and George Isaacs of England. Murray had stayed home to work on a new steel contract.

What the left-wingers lacked in numbers on the CIO delegation, however, they made up in activity. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the delayed arrival of Thomas, Hillman and Dalrymple, they managed to have Fitzgerald named as CIO representative on the powerful standing-orders committee. That the right-wingers permitted this almost fatal maneuver is also explained partly by the fact that this committee, the central planning body that ran the convention, is a European device virtually unknown to American labor unions.

At any rate, it developed that the pro-communists on the standing orders committee found themselves with a majority of five votes to four. They were not slow to press home their advantage. They immediately recommended provisions to allow for the taking of votes and the increase of communist representation by the admission of delegates from Warsaw-Lublin and the former enemy countries of Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary (sic), all of whose labor movements, such as they were, were now dominated by communists and fellow-travelers. The report also failed to assign any representative of the IFTU to "the committee on peace settlement." If adopted as it stood, it would have signalized complete control of the conference by the left-wing element.

But if anyone thought the conference would take the report lying down, he was soon to be rudely awakened. It had no sooner been presented by Ernest Thornton of Australia than Citrine was on his feet with violent objections. The fight was on. After Citrine's speech the conference adjourned for the day. The next morning, however, the left-wingers opened up with their big guns. First Toledano, then Saillant. But then came a bombshell from the right. Jim Carey, who had by now assumed the chairmanship of the CIO delegation, rose to ask for unanimous consent to refer the report back to the committee. He refused to amplify his remarks, but that wasn't necessary. It was obvious to every smart observer that between sessions the CIO delegates had met in caucus and voted to modify the position of Fitzgerald, their own representative on the standing-orders committee. Unanimous consent was not forthcoming, and Kuznetsov and others continued firing from the left, but all the bang had gone out of their gunfire. The CIO had given public notice that it would not stooge for Moscow.

That afternoon Thomas, just off the plane, made an impassioned plea for unity and proposed a compromise which proved acceptable to all parties. Of course, everyone but the Englishmen realized the necessity of taking votes. They had not come thousands of miles to "consult and advise." So the committee's recommendation on voting was accepted: each national federation had one vote and two-thirds was necessary to carry. But no measure could be defeated unless the dissenters included one-third of the delegations and one-third of the total membership represented at the conference. At first it was thought this system would favor the British Empire, but the conference soon discovered there was little unanimity among the British delegates. The question of seating delegates from former enemy countries was left to the more right-wing credential committee. Actually, Finland was the only country able to get delegates to London in time, but Italy and Bulgaria did receive seats on the continuations committee. Provision was also made for the inclusion of IFTU representatives on all committees. As for the hottest issue of all, the question of admitting the Warsaw-Lublin unions, it was simply dropped. Jan Stanczyk from the London government-in-exile remained the only Polish delegate at the conference. Considering what an important stop Lublin has been on the Party line, one can only interpret this action, together with the other changes, as a severe setback for the comrades. In the first flush of their confidence they had run head on into the opposition, thinking to bowl it over. They received for their pains a sharp crack on the sconce. And it is most significant that the decisive factor was the stand of the CIO.

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From here on there was little serious argument, except on the question of a new world organiza-

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tion, which we shall consider last. All hands agreed on a "tough peace" for Germany, including the break-up of war industry, complete and permanent disarmament and the prohibition of all aircraft production. It had been expected that a fight might develop over the Russians' demand for the use of German labor in rebuilding devastated areas, on the ground that this was "slave labor." The final agreement did not endorse the idea of using such labor, but said that "if" it were used, it "must be placed under international supervision, with trade union participation," so that general labor standards would not be undermined. It also stated that "such labor must not be allowed to degenerate into slave labor." Even delegates from the French CGT insisted on these points, and the Russians made no objection.

It is interesting that in response to the hammering of Toledano, Kuznetsov and other delegates, the manifesto stated that "it is the duty of . . . the United Nations . . . to deny recognition to . . . Franco-Spain and the Argentine." And in another report it was urged that vigorous action be taken by all these nations to stop Sweden and Switzerland from helping Germany in any way. However, when it came to the question of prosecuting the war against Japan, not only was no voice raised calling upon Russia even to break diplomatic and trade relations with that country, but Kuznetsov actually went out of his way to disassociate Russia from the anti-Japanese effort.

In similar fashion the conference shot a strong implied criticism at Great Britain, America, France, Holland and Belgium when it called for "an end to the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation" and the protection of trade unions and working conditions in the colonies by labor legislation. But when it demanded "the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, political association, and the right to organize labor unions" in the liberated countries, it politely refrained from commending these principles to all the United Nations. No, it certainly cannot be said that the anti-communists at London were looking for trouble.

On the question of labor conditions in the colonies, by the way, I. A. T. Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, West Africa, reported that he had just "completed a sentence of five years in jail, with exile as the alternative, because he advocated trade unionism." He minced no words when he urged the delegates "to fight against British and other colonial imperialism which, to us in the colonies, is even worse than fascism."

The conference also showed keen awareness of the economic interdependence of the nations of the world and called for "the industrial development of the undeveloped countries, for full utilization of the material resources of every nation with an effective organization of human labor whereby economic production will be carried on at maximum capacity, and full employment and rising standards of living made possible in all the lands."

The manifesto was very firm in demanding for international labor "a share in determining all questions of the peace and postwar settlement, and for representation at the Peace Conference and all international commissions and agencies concerned with the peace settlement in all its phases, beginning with the San Francisco Conference in April." For this, and other purposes, a continuations committee of 45 was established, and this in turn empowered an administrative subcommittee of 13 members to present the conference viewpoint at San Francisco.

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The big question at London, however, and the one that excited by far the most interest on the part of delegates and observers alike was the question of whether a new "all-in" world trade union organization would be formed to replace the IFTU. In this campaign the opening gun was fired by Hillman, whose PAC notoriety had made him probably the best-known of the CIO delegates to the rest of the conference. With unanswerable logic, Hillman pointed out that it would be foolish to debate the merits of enlarging the IFTU, since the latter's general council had just postponed consideration of that question for seven months. The only solution, he maintained, was to set up *"at once"* a new organization that would admit "all trade unions of free countries on the basis of equality and relegate none to a second place," and would "unite in one body all labor organizations which are sincere opponents of fascism and consistent defenders of the rights and interests of the working masses." He suggested that a place be kept open for the AFL, expressing his confidence that the latter would eventually reverse its current position of isolationism, "as they have on so many previous occasions." In obvious reference to the Soviet unions, Hillman declared that "any attempt to control an international organization by virtue of size or weight of numbers would be fatal." When he had finished, delegate after delegate spoke in support.

Once again Sir Walter Citrine rose to lead a counter-attack. Repeating his refrain to the effect that the conference had not been called to make final decisions, he defended the IFTU and stated that the British TUC did not want to see it scrapped until they could be sure that its successor would be an improvement. He therefore proposed an interim committee to draw up a constitution for the new federation which could be submitted to affiliates for approval before the next meeting of the conference. In other words Citrine, who could sense the prevailing sentiment among

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the delegates as well as the next man, agreed in substance with the idea of forming a larger federation, but opposed immediate and final action.

If they had wanted to, the CIO and left-wing delegates could undoubtedly have forced through a vote for immediate action. By so doing, however, they would have risked a right-wing breakaway and the permanent rivalry of the IFTU—a development which would have pleased the absent, and worried, AFL leaders no little. So they went along with Citrine's proposal, merely asking for a larger committee (45) than he had suggested. The leftists did insist, however, on having the new secretariat moved out from under the right wing at London and placed under the left wing in Paris, where the whole conference (and the IFTU general council) were to meet again in September.

The manifesto, borrowing some of Hillman's words, put it thus: "It [the conference] unanimously resolved to create a World Trade Union Organization including all the Trade Unions of free countries on a basis of equality, regardless of race, creed or political faith, excluding none and relegating none to a secondary place."

And so the fight for the "all-in" federation was won—as simply as that. The interesting question of whether or not state-owned-and-operated unions like those of Russia actually belonged in the same organization with free trade unions never really reached the floor. Kuznetsov himself was frank enough. In a frontal attack on the IFTU he asked, "Why in the last 25 years did the IFTU not open its doors to the Soviet trade unions?" But when Schevenels rose in defense, the best he could do was some oblique double-talk to the effect that "You have to ask yourselves why it is that the Soviet trade unions are not in the International Labor Organization." Apparently there was no child at the conference innocent, bold or discourteous enough to look at the Russian labor leaders and cry out, "But the emperor has no pants!"

The London conference is pretty well summed up, pretty well symbolized by the administrative committee that met in Washington April 10 to draw up a draft constitution, and then proceeded to the San Francisco conference. On the left wing are six solid Communist votes: Russia's Kuznetsov and Tarasov, France's Saillant and Frachon, Toledano and Cuba's Cofino. On the right sit England's Citrine and Edwards, China's Liu, Schevenels, and Oldenbroek from the international secretariats. In the middle, holding the deciding votes, sit the CIO delegates, Murray and Hillman. You can put it this way: as long as the CIO remains under the control of its own non-communists, there is little danger of the communists gaining a dominant position in the new world labor organization that will most certainly come to full, complete birth at the meetings in Paris next September. As for the socialists, who have controlled world labor for the last 40 years, they are definitely on the way down. They no longer have either the energy, the unity or the faith needed to retain leadership. Together with the CIO, they can still swing sufficient weight to keep the comrades under control. Without the CIO they are licked. If the AFL changes its mind, of course, there will naturally be a very different line-up. But at last reports the AFL had locked itself firmly in the outhouse and was still sulking hard.

# Catholic Unions

CANON A. DE ONAINDIA

AT THE February World Trade Union Conference in London for the first time the Christian Unions were invited to take part in the discussions and resolutions of a Congress convoked by the Socialist International, and for the first time colored delegates from such colonies as Nigeria participated on a footing of equality. This brotherhood of the workers was the most impressive characteristic of the great assembly.

The delegations of the Christian unions came from France and Belgium; the conference made official reference to its sympathy for similar representatives of the Basque Country (Spain); and among the United States and Irish representatives, we saw several Catholic delegates. The best Christian social organization in pre-war Europe was, perhaps, the Belgian; the Christian representation of France, however, played a more important part in the Congress, due, no doubt, to the political personality and importance of France among the United Nations. When the Secretariat of the British Trade Unions invited the French CGT (socialist) to take part in the conference, it was the French socialists who suggested to Sir Walter Citrine that it seemed only just to them that the invitation should also be extended to the Christian unions; and this was done with those of France and Belgium. These Christian delegates of France expressed their appreciation of the attention they received during the meetings of the assembly. In this way they were able to contribute their experience and the knowledge acquired during long years of international action in the Christian International of Utrecht, to which they belonged.

The Russian-British-American delegations were the largest and most influential. It was a pity that only the CIO should have come from the United States; one noticed the gap left by the absence of the AFL. Nevertheless, once the Congress was assembled and the appointed committee had begun work on the preparation of the articles

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for a new World Labor Organization, a representative of the AFL appeared as an observer, and as such will attend the meetings which are scheduled for Paris next autumn.

I could not fail to notice that many delegates did not understand why there should be Christian unions in Europe. Why this difference? they asked. And the Christians and socialists themselves were no less interested to know how in the CIO and the British Trade Unions, the Catholic delegates got on with their colleagues of different religions or none at all. This is an old problem in Europe. In the years now long past, the socialists of Europe were actively anti-religious, and thus it was necessary for the Catholics to organize in their own trade unions; moreover, the socialists of those times made the basis of their activities the doctrinaire abolition of all private property, an institution which was defended in the Papal Encyclicals. These two phenomena of history had a decisive influence in the division of the labor world into socialists and Christians. Unfortunately, the Christians did not show the same interest and efficiency in the defense of the workers' rights as their socialist colleagues, and the labor movement largely followed Karl Marx. The magnificent papal teachings on social justice only found an echo in meetings of prelates and articles in the press, but not in everyday social realities. Unhappily, in more than one country, the Catholic element was distinguished by its excessive conservatism and by the teaching of a Christian resignation which was not entirely evangelical, since rather it was allied with social injustice. The worker saw that his defender was socialism, and he threw himself into its arms.

Nowadays, the whole world is coming to realize that social progress is a question which dominates the life of the worker; that the human rights of the worker and his family are a Christian postulate which demands an immediate solution, sufficient and just; that the excessively liberal world which created the contemporary capitalist system must give way to greater intervention by the State and by the workers in deliberations and decision concerning the production of wealth and its fair distribution.

This fact has produced salutary effects. The socialists believe their Christian comrades to be sincere defenders of the workers' interests; the resistance to nazi Germany in Europe, in which socialists, communists and Catholics joined together, has forged among them all links of solidarity and mutual understanding; hence the respect which they now feel for each other. And the presence of the American Catholic delegates at the conference contributed notably to foster this mutual approach of socialists and Christians in the field of action.

The most important resolution of the London Conference was to form a Workers International, which would comprise all the workers of the world organized on a democratic basis in their own unions. These could be Marxist or Christian, and in their domestic activities they would be independent, but whenever there might arise problems of an international nature, the workers would be represented by a single labor conference or international. Until now the Russians have had their own, the Third of Moscow, the Socialists belonged to the Second of Amsterdam, and the Christians to that of Utrecht. The step now taken can have incalculable consequences. If the Third International succeeds in absorbing the other two, the labor world will follow a communist orientation. On the other hand, if each present organization keeps alert, and all endeavor to surpass the difficulties which divide them, the advantages may be tremendous, because from the heart of this organization would grow a mutual tolerance, which has shown itself very necessary, above all in the old Europe.

Another notable event took place during the conference. The Catholic Archbishop of Westminster and Primate of England, Bernard Griffin, invited all the delegations to a party in the hall of the Archbishopric of Westminster. The Russians were the first to accept. On the date fixed the workers' delegates met this prelate in his own house, and he delivered an important address defending the liberty of trade unions, the cooperation of world labor, and indicating the basic points of the Christian social program of the papal encyclicals. There was not a single point on which the various delegates did not agree. The important thing is to be sincere and to put into practice these rules, profoundly human and based on social justice. Such a gathering was without precedent in International Labor Conferences held up to now.

Thus I believe sincerely that there are reasons to congratulate the workers who met in London, and from the Catholic point of view, American Catholics deserve our warmest congratulations. We know that they have established friendly contact with the "Christian socialists" of Europe in seeking a better mutual understanding which will bring with it a greater interchange of information on programs and activities of the future.

# Communications

## THE CHURCH AND THE "ISMS"

Mineola, N. Y.

TO the Editors: When the smoke of battle has passed, when Salvemini has written his last letter and the last Jesuit rebuttal is in, the student of Catholic history will still be unable to shake off his question: what was the Church's record during the period between 1920

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and 1939? The world was doing its best to carry out Spengler's visions: already the cyclical Caesars were rising. Before a startled world appeared Mussolini, fresh from his march on Rome. He made the Italian trains run on time, he put the people to work; Rome was proud again. The Weimar Republic was sick, and Hitler appeared as the heir of Greater Germany. Then came the persecution of the Jews; Mussolini's exhibition in Ethiopia; the strident of a reawakened Germany; the Spanish Civil War; the annexation of Austria; the Sudetenland; and before our very eyes another World War came into full bloom. On what side was the Church sitting? Or did it move imperceptibly from one side to the other, with that ease so much feared by Mr. Churchill that he wants the new English Parliament building to be oblong-shaped so that a man will have to be counted either on the Left or on the Right? The historian needs a skilled and an honest hand when he examines the world-wide political scene and draws his chiaroscuro of the Catholic Church between the wars.

When we confine our study to the Catholic Church in America, the picture is clearer. After every allowance has been made for professional Church-baiting, for those whose business it is to discover political trumps up clerical sleeves, one fact must be admitted. During the two decades that witnessed the rise and crystallization of fascism and communism, Catholic intellectual leadership in America directed its most severe, unequivocal and persistent condemnation against communism and soft-pedaled the fight against fascism. The hysterical anti-communism in Catholic colleges and the Catholic press was almost an obsession; anti-fascism was hardly heard above a whisper in most Catholic circles.

Not everybody will agree that there is anything particularly sinister or even noteworthy about this contrast. But it is my conviction that the choice as made betrays a miscarriage of instinct on the part of American Catholic leadership during the '20's and '30's. Granted that communism was more strongly organized in America than was fascism, granted that the present lineup of the United Nations naturally inclines us to concentrate our hatred on fascism now and soft-pedal communism—the miscarriage of instinct must nevertheless be admitted. Catholicism is nothing at all if not a universalism: it instinctively recoils from those values that divide men: race, blood, nationalisms. And these values are the very essence of fascism and nazism. The apotheosis of the German race, the transcendent authority of the State, the cult of German blood, the Nuremberg racial rites, the outlawry of Jews to prevent the pollution of Aryan purity: these are the doctrines against which a robust Catholic instinct should react with the accuracy and fierceness of an outraged lion. Instead, on the American Catholic scene, this fierceness was directed against communism in the tense era between 1920 and 1939. And fascism was, with a few exceptions, either overlooked or quietly tolerated.

To maintain that communism is no worse than fascism, or that it is a little less evil, is not to whitewash it. It is far from my intention to proclaim with Harold Laski that Russian communism is a modern counterpart of that pristine Christianity which emerged out of the decadent and enervated Roman Empire and revitalized the faith and values of the world. But whatever be said about communism, it *is* a universalism, however distorted. While deleting the fatherhood of God, it does preach and profess the brotherhood of man, of all men. It denies and vilifies the Christ on the Cross Whose outstretched arms embrace the whole of humankind in the scheme of redemption. But communism bars no man from its own redemptive plan because of his blood or his race or his origin. Even its major doctrine of class warfare is considered a preliminary tactic which will give way to a classless, homogeneous society. It has no cult of blood, it weaves no myths of a super-race, it transcends the fences of nations, it cuts across the aisles that divide men.

Communist Russia is a state comprising some 50 major nationalities. In all, there are 175 distinct peoples within the Soviet Union, some in autonomous republics. Only in the United States is there another example of a vast continental expanse all of whose peoples are welded into a solid union. That Russian unity has been achieved at the expense of freedom is true; but coercion does not explain everything. The unity of Russia was cruelly tested in the tragic days of 1941, '42, and '43. Russia's solidity was the reward of Stalin's policy—and communism's attitude—toward minority pepoles.

That militant atheism is an essential part of doctrinal communism is of course the reason why American Catholicism has directed its major armament against communism. But even that does not justify this aberration from the healthy Catholic instinct. Fascism is—and has been from the beginning—just as atheistic, although it dickered with the Churches at first in order to use them as tools.

The decisive difference between communism and fascism —when all the similarities have been admitted and all the froth and camouflage disposed of—lies in the fact that one is a universalistic ideology, embracing all men, and the other is an ideology whose root is the enshrinement of one nation, one race, one soil, the enshrinement of one blood-conscience. Fascism is sectarianism and partisanship brought to the boiling point, and a wholesome Catholic spirit should react—paradoxically, it may be—less violently against crass atheism than against this form of self-worship.

It is not with a view to redemption by self-laceration that the leaders of American Catholic opinion need to acknowledge this "miscarriage of instinct" during the breeding period before the second World War. My plea for such an acknowledgment is rooted in fear and hope. It springs as well from a pride in Catholicism: in the Catholicism of Augustine and Francis of Assisi, of Aquinas and Vincent de Paul, of von Hügel and Maritain—of Christ. Millions of young men will soon return from the battlefronts, to mould the future America. The demagogues are waiting for them: waiting to tingle their ears and harden their hearts with schemes of happiness through hatred. Anyone who has talked with many of these young men now in the services cannot underestimate the influence upon them that will be exerted by the American Hitlers and Mussolinis of the next twenty years.

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Several millions of these ex-servicemen will inevitably be guided by Catholic leadership. Father Coughlins—clerical and lay—will reappear on the scene. Will they lead the field again? H. T. MAGUIRE.

### THE PERSECUTION COMPLEX

Melvindale, Mich.

TO the Editors: A little more than a year ago, I visited our island possession of Puerto Rico. I was amazed at the comparative weakness of the Church in this nominally Catholic territory. I was appalled at the vigorousness of Protestant propagandizing. And I reacted in the conventional Catholic fashion: by cussing—in a nice Christian way, of course—the Protestants. Why didn't they stay in their own backyards? I even hurried into print, in the *Catholic Digest,* with a call to arms.

In the intervening months, there has been much bickering and name-calling, in Catholic and Protestant press alike, on this matter of Protestant missionary activity in the supposedly Catholic countries of Latin America. Strangely enough, during those months (which included a visit to Mexico) my own viewpoint gradually has altered. Alarm has given place to thoughtful self-examination.

First of all, I think we do our Protestant brethren a grave injustice in accusing them of bad faith, in assuming that their main purpose is to proselytize good Catholics, and to hamper and rob the Church. Even a plain humanitarian without religious convictions, going into a country where there is much poverty and ignorance, might be tempted to do something about it. We should have no right to say that he was attempting to bribe souls away from their mother faith.

Secondly, I think that the harm that has been done or can be done by Protestant missionaries, is easily exaggerated. It is not plainly demonstrable that such souls as find their way into the Protestant temples are souls lost to the Catholic Church. My own observation is limited to Puerto Rico and Mexico. In those two places I can testify that there are many persons, untouched by Protestant missionaries, who yet are living without benefit of the Catholic Church. Here in our own country there is a constant leakage in every parish; not to Protestantism, but to paganism. If the evangelicals manage to pick up a few such crumbs, need we fear?

Thirdly, the Protestant penetration is not without its bright side. Even in the God-established monopoly of religion, human agents can grow lax, and careless of the needs of their clients. In Catholic countries often there is a tendency to be satisfied with a minimum degree of instruction of the people. Once baptized, and having made their First Communion, they are considered to have all that is necessary for salvation. Yet it was not without cause that Saint Paul warned us to be able to give a reason for the faith that is in us. A high degree of sanctity, without a fair understanding of the truths of faith, is the exception and not the rule. In Mexico, Protestant activity has resulted in a revival of Catholic apologetics, and an intensification of religious instruction which is all to the good. Doubtless there are other Latin American countries where a similar revival, and more Christ-like service, may result with profit to the Church.

Finally, it ill-becomes us, as exponents of Christian charity, patience, and forgiveness, to indulge in diatribes against well-meaning, if mistaken, doers of good. There may be latent bigotry in much of the Protestant missionary work in Latin America, but we ourselves have not too plainly blazed the trail of Christian forbearance toward the erring. When it comes to bigotry, let's not too hastily call the Protestant kettle black. I would not have it thought that I mean to condone error. But I do think that we Catholics, often misunderstood and frequently persecuted, tend to over-compensate in our defense of our religion.

It should be a comfort to us to recall that Christ, throughout His own life, and in all the centuries since, has quietly been bringing good out of evil. Why not let Him do a bit of the worrying, the while we save a little energy for soul-searching—remembering that the Protestants cannot succeed, unless first we have failed.

REV. LEO J. TRESE.

# The Screen

## Land ob Cotton

DON'T be misled by the titled of *"The Southerner"* into thinking you're going to get an eyeful of crinolines, mammies and you-alls. Based on George Sessions Perry's novel, "Hold Autumn in Your Hand," this film reveals an aspect of the South that is no bed of magnolias. I wish the novel's title had been retained for the movie, because that name suggests the note of hope that is the keynote of the entire piece—hope and the will to persevere.

"The Southerner" shows one year in the life of the Tuckers. Sam (Zachary Scott), the hard working young farmer, and his patient, loving wife, Nona (Betty Field) are persuaded by their dying uncle to work for themselves, to grow their own crops. So they give up their jobs as migratory workers and become tenant farmers on some unpromising acres beside the river. The dilapidated old house "looks like a sow's nest," says Granny, the toothless, whining old hag whose continued complaints only add to the Tuckers' woes. But Nona encourages Sam, builds the first fire in their new house, and the family is cheered by its warmth. Sam slaves over the earth, which is not the good earth; but with the help of Nona, he puts in his cotton. Winter is cruel to farmers, especially those who do not have enough money for food and clothes. Director Jean Renoir vividly dramatizes the sequences of Nona's cutting Granny's blanket to make an overcoat so the little girl can go to school, of Sam's hunting and bringing home the 'possum which the family hungrily gobble down. The whole picture consists of such episodes all of which add up to tell the story of the Tuckers' struggle for existence. This Loew-Hakim production has been beautifully photographed, but not romanticized.

One is impressed with the sincerity of this portrayal of man's love for the earth. Even Sam's blackest hours are followed, not by a sentimental silver lining, but by at least a small gleam which brings some promise that

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hope is still alive. After the hard winter, spring seems to foretell a turn for the better; but with that season, the poorly fed Tucker boy comes down with pellagra. Then the pigs of the unfriendly neighbor (whose meanness is mainly due to his inability to stand the vicissitudes of life) ruin the Tucker garden. There follows a vicious fight between Sam and the neighbor; but even the brutality of this is dissipated somewhat by the succeeding events which show that most of Sam's fellow sufferers in this vale of tears have sparks of human kindness.

Jean Renoir has directed his cast exceedingly well. He has succeeded in making handsome actors like Betty Field and Zachary Scott look and act like plain, real people. The children are appealing, but are by no means pretty. And the cast is strengthened by fine players in supporting rôles: Blanche Yurka as Sam's mother, Percy Kilbride as the kindly grocer who falls in love with her, J. Carrol Naish as the soured neighbor who is smug in his welter of pessimism, Charles Kemper as Tim, Sam's good friend who works in the city and tries to win Sam to the factory's offer of seven dollars a day. (Sam prefers, however, to be "free" on his own farm.) It is warm, friendly Tim who dominates the film's best scene: a saloon row that becomes a bottle-throwing brawl between Tim and the tart who tried to make Sam. You wonder as you watch this scene just what it has to do with the rest of the movie; then you realize, through Renoir's superb direction, that you are growing more and more apprehensive for Sam, the innocent bystander who will soon become involved. You cannot bear that any more awful things should happen to the Tuckers who are already suffering more than any of Thomas Hardy's wretched heroes. And you welcome the gay and robust rowdiness of the party after Ma's wedding. This fun making is followed, of course, by the rain and the flood. Sam says, "A feller ought to know when he's beat," but Sam doesn't know; and when he sees his women folk cleaning the house after the water recedes, he is moved by their faith; and his own confidence is bolstered. Later, when he and Tim compare again the merits of farming versus the sure job in the city, Sam admits there is much to be said for the city worker, the farmer needs the worker —but you can't eat machines, the worker needs the farmer too.

Renoir, who wrote the screenplay from Perry's novel, has kept the script simple and realistic (realistic within the bounds of naturalism, if you could possibly admit that any family can be pursued by such a relentless fate). He has used cinema well and has relied on the camera more than words to tell the story of the Tuckers. It is interesting that a French director would be so successful with an American scene and theme, but perhaps it is the universality of the theme—the struggle of the farmer, the fight of man against nature—which makes it one that could be told by the motion picture in any country. I suppose United Artists, who are releasing the film, felt it would attract a larger audience with its present title than through the name of Perry's novel. Perhaps it is good that the film will be known as "The Southerner," for the picture pays tribute to the courage of the small farmer in the South, and the movie deserves the patronage of serious adult audiences who are interested in the film medium as well as adult subject matter.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

# Editors' Choice

THESE ARE THE RUSSIANS. *Richard E. Lauterbach. Harper.* $3.00.

## Things Liked

THE TWO most likely explanations for the enthusiasm of American correspondents for Russia are quite contradictory. Either there is something dynamic in the USSR which long contact there brings home to a man, or else the authorities refuse entry to reporters who are not known to be pretty fellow-travely in the first place (William L. White was an exception and he did not stay long). Several elements would bear out the first of these theories: the frenzy for patriotic personal sacrifice which caught up the individual Soviet citizen as a result of the German invasion; the common Russian feeling that they are working and suffering together for the sake of future generations; the natural affinity between the Russian and American peoples; the good use to which the Soviet Union puts nascent talent. Yet all of this would not explain why such men as Edmund Stevens of the *Christian Science Monitor* and Richard Lauterbach of *Time-Life,* or *Life-Time,* should back the Kremlin on its most dubious political ventures. All the natural affinity in the world cannot satisfactorily explain why such men consistently refuse to recognize that much of the opposition to the Soviet Union in other lands derives directly from the presence everywhere of agents taking orders from Moscow. Perhaps this is another way of saying not to read "These Are the Russians" for its political comment or any light it might throw on the murders in the Katyn Forest, the Polish question, the Baltic States and so forth; it is rather to be read for its details on Russian war heroes.

Nothing particularly new is brought forward about Stalin except a certain emphasis on his personal direction of the military campaigns (a sounder strategist than Hitler) and the aura of mystery with which he surrounds himself for the benefit of the Russian people. Marshal Georgi Konstantinovitch Zhukov, however, presents a fascinating picture; he began as furrier's apprentice. He learned much from his training in the cavalry; he attended lectures in Germany by the German General Staff; he was the Soviet Union's chief military observer of the Spanish Civil War. He restored tsarist-like discipline in the Russian Army. Zhukov was the general who saved Moscow, Stalingrad, Leningrad; he planned or led nearly every major offensive including the drive of last January which took Warsaw and carried almost to the gates of Berlin. Zhukov is an atheist. Before the war he subscribed to a number of the leading French periodicals. He is proficient at both the piano and the accordion and adheres to a régime of hardy physical exercise. "His record of military achievement from Moscow to Berlin [where he formally accepted the German surrender] is without parallel in the annals of modern warfare."

Marshal Alexander Alexandrovich Novikov, head of the Soviet Air Force, is also a peasant's son from central

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Russia. He switched over from the infantry in the late 30's. He leaves the limelight to his aces, but his recognition of the limited potentialities of Russian plane production, insistence on concentrating production on the Stormovik "flying tank," the Yak fighter and two or three others, and ability to improvise with what he had mark him as one of the ablest leaders of the war. Colonel Alexander Pokryshkin, the Soviet ace who downed 60 enemy planes, is a Siberian peasant. He had a boy's love of planes which he watched at his municipal airport, but his first job was in an agricultural machine tool plant. When he applied for aviation school and was accepted, he found it was a school for mechanics. He had to pick up flying on the side and in secret. Even during the first months of the war he was only a scouter. He was an immediate success when made a fighter pilot and in the latter days of the war spent his evenings writing articles so that other pilots might benefit from his experiences in combat. One cannot help agreeing with Mr. Lauterbach that a system which develops talents such as those of Zhukov, Novikov and Pokryshin has much to teach the adherents of other systems.

# More Books of the Week

*International Tribunals, Past and Future. Manley O. Hudson. Carnegie Endowment and Brookings.* $2.50.

ANY CITIZEN interested in evaluating the project for a new World Court which will emerge from discussions now taking place in San Francisco should be advised to read this compact and factual study of international tribunals. Out of long experience with international law and judicial procedures, the author has realized the confusion of the average man when confronted with such institutions and has set about dispelling the mystery. His book is the second in a series of related studies published jointly by two outstanding research agencies. In the first half of the work, following a brief but very effective historical introduction, he presents an inclusive survey of the administration of such tribunals, including their structure, financing, selection of personnel, jurisdiction and means of enforcing the law.

Justice Hudson shows that these courts have most closely approximated the judicial functioning of a court when the judges have been selected and paid by some agency other than the parties to a litigation. He believes, nevertheless, that judges cannot be chosen without some consideration of their nationality, the legal systems in which they have been trained, and the influence of their native land in world affairs. In spite of the tendency of nations to insist on the presence of national judges and to limit the jurisdiction of the court, although the law is incomplete and the courts have no real power to enforce their decisions, it becomes clear that these tribunals, when used, have been effective both in settling disputes and in the development of law. The occasions have been rare when their decisions have not been honored by obedience. It is disquieting, however, to read of the numerous agreements to use pacific means of settlement which have not been used because no actual court was either specified or brought into being.

Particularly interesting alike to John Citizen and to the specialized student is the eighth chapter, on the sources and evidence of international law as it is applied in practice. He believes that international law has happily

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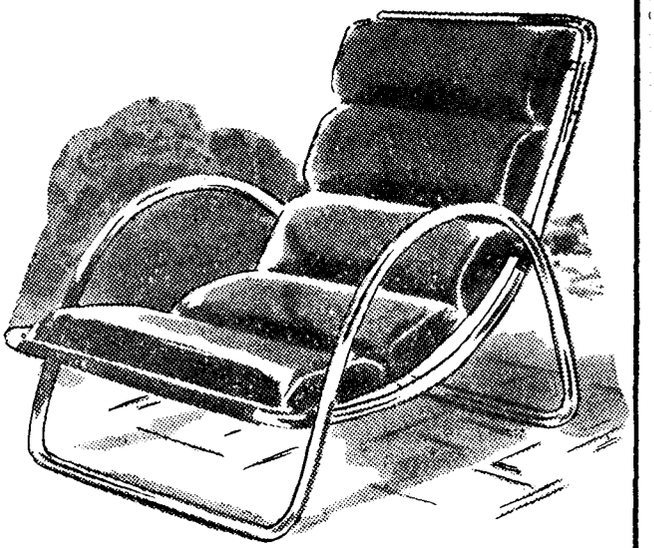

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been "emancipated from the philosophies" of seventeenth century theologian-jurists; that it has "moved outside the orbit" of eighteenth century naturalistic thinking, and "transcended many limitations" of nineteenth century positivism. He sees a closely-woven network of treaties and conventions as its positive foundation—a foundation which will be strengthened as the international community is more effectively organized. He assumes the existence of a spirit of equity and a search for justice which will work toward such organization.

Readers who expect a discussion of the prospects for a World Court may be disappointed in the second half of the book. Justice Hudson does not look for any sudden increase of international judicial institutions; he considers only the future of such tribunals as have already been proposed. He would prefer to build new tribunals on the solid achievement and form of the two permanent ones still usable at the Hague, in order to retain the many treaties which confer jurisdiction on these courts, and to insure continuous progress. Although the use of arbitration for the post-war settlement of property claims, lend-lease contracts, and the identity and ownership of works of art may be implicit in his treatment of mixed claims commissions, it is not explicit. Neither is there any consideration of the possible use of arbitraton for the settlement of boundary questions. He hopes that any regional tribunal which may prove desirable and any other court for commercial or other technical questions will be connected with the Permanent Court through use of the provisions of its Statute for arbitration, or for associated tribunals of summary procedure. He foresees a wider use of advisory opinions and the creation of internal administrative courts in new international administrative bodies. His final chapter stresses the need for a truly judicial court as distinguished from political tribunals. Taken as a whole his book offers cogent argument for the continuation of the Hague tribunals, a point of view widely supported by American lawyers. One must hope that it will be realized at San Francisco.

ELIZABETH M. LYNSKEY.

*Pleasant Valley. Louis Bromfield. Harper.* $3.00.

MR. LOUIS BROMFIELD has been fabulously successful as a novelist (that is, in fame and royalties). He is rather badly discredited as a prophet of impending starvation in the United States. He now emerges as a first-rate farmer, and he uses his original talent skilfully to tell us in "Pleasant Valley" of the rural home he has created. It would be better to say co-created, for Mr. Bromfield is strong for the principle that farming and life itself are arts of working *with* nature. The major part of his book is the story of the way he and his helpers have succeeded in rebuilding a house, the soil and all the accessories of rural life on a farm in mid-Ohio. It is a rich and varied description, interpersed with anecdotes of early pioneer legends and with incidents from Mr. Bromfield's years of living in France and India.

It is unlikely that there are many more interesting homes in America than the Bromfields' Malabar. It has all the comic appeal of the Marx brothers plus the atmosphere of a serious and important struggle to do right by God's gift of the soil. We learn of the background, the landscape, the climate, the plans, the buildings. Mr. Bromfield frankly admits that the buildings were paid for out of short story and Hollywood earnings rather than farm income, but that doesn't gainsay the fact that they were well built with a sense of tradition and taste. The house is spacious enough so that during the closing days of the 1944 political campaign the disagreeing members of the household could comfortably live apart under the same roof. I have no doubt about what part of the house I would have occupied—as far as possible from Mr. Bromfield's workshop and bedroom, which he shares with his six or so dogs. And it's not because I dislike dogs.

Animals probably haven't received such understanding treatment since the days of Saint Francis as they get at the Bromfields. The dogs open the doors and roam in and out of the parlors and guest rooms, and Mr. Bromfield cannot visit certain friends during the day since his dogs don't get on with theirs and his dogs would not let him go walking or riding without them. The bull, the cows, the sheep, the ducks, the cats, the mares, the birds, the goats—all have almost a human status and no one interferes with their good life at Malabar. Only when the goats occupy the car of guests, eating freely of the contents therein, does Mr. Bromfield reluctantly part with them. Lesser incidents such as a Soviet guest being knocked down by friendly dogs and butted into the front door by the karakul ram are merely sources of laughter.

There is the land. That is where most of the crusading comes in. It is an inspiring account of a determined effort to achieve self-sufficiency and to rebuild the soil. His record of the abundance of food that lives and increases at Malabar will drive ration-ridden urbanites to sinful envy. Mr. Bromfield knows that agriculture is the basis of life and that preserving the soil is the first requisite of civilization. He knows, too, how abused the soil is in most parts of the world. He rolled up his sleeves to prove it was not necessary. He used, and he applauds, the Soil Conservation Service, the CCC, the Extension Department. He believes scientific farming and the use of machinery do not need to spell the end of self-sufficiency and the pioneering spirit. He offers his farm as evidence.

The evidence is not too convincing. Malabar is unique and its imitators will be few. Scientific farming as Mr. Bromfield practices it takes capital available only for the financial élite. Mr. Bromfield attempted to solve the problem of capital by modeling his thousand acre farm after a Soviet collective, with himself taking the place of the state. Thus he shares the profit from the enterprise with his helpers. Yet there is no doubt about who makes the final decisions, about who is lord and master. Neither his plan nor the Soviet collective is a true cooperative. And while his helpers receive a share of the profits, they are not owners; but his book is a reflection of the glory and splendor and joy of the land owner. Malabar is a several-family size farm and Mr. Bromfield is the squire. The problem of the independent small farm is no closer to solution.

Finally, there is Mr. Bromfield, the man, for this is in part an autobiography. He reveals himself as a rugged determined man with strong likes and dislikes, with a great curiosity and a nimble intellect, as a virile lover of land, animals, companionship and ideas. He is led by nature to the very edge of pantheism. He is thoroughly cosmopolitan and he has first hand acquaintance with cultures and celebrities all over the world. He has lived in cities. He has tested many modes of life. He has found all of it wanting except the farm. He is sure that

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after thirty years he has found the richest life he has ever known. "Pleasant Valley" is a testament of the power of the good earth. EMERSON HYNES.

*Youth Is The Time. Robert Gessner. Scribners.* $2.50.

TWO PURPOSES are evident in this novel. One is the presentation of student life in a large metropolitan university; the other is propaganda against what the author regards as a reactionary trend in education today. The students are presented realistically and sympathetically, though very superficially. The teachers, on the other hand, are designed chiefly to illustrate ideas. They are divided into two groups, of course. The medievalists are a uniformly malevolent group who resemble nothing so much as what some higher critic of the distant future might reconstruct from a hasty condensation of one of Mr. Hook's less responsible diatribes against the University of Chicago. The forces of the good, on the contrary, have a deep hatred of the past and propose to offer healthy courses in the Contemporary Scene. The trouble with the past is that it is dead, although it is also suggested, that the past has an immoral effect. Evidence for the latter point is found in "Oedipus" and "Electra," though the force of this is somewhat weakened by the fact that Mr. Gessner has apparently only read these works in the translations of Sigmund Freud.

Two climaxes occur, in both of which the medievalists attempt to bring about the hero's ejection from the university. The first is for taking an interest in one of his girl students; the second is for speaking at an unauthorized student rally. In the latter brave Professor Nash denounces the entire academic policy of the university and most of the professors to boot. He also contributes such information as this concerning Pascal: "a twisted intellectual who behaved like a madman toward those who disagreed with him . . . a hated man who roamed his country under an alias and in fear of his life, a thief who stole a prize he set up for others and praised himself for doing it, a man who connived and kidnapped." As a result of this speech Professor Nash is fired, though he has the satisfaction of knowing his principles are right. He also gets the girl. The author is Chairman of the Department of Motion Pictures at New York University.

LEO CAMP.

*The Builders of the Bridge: the Story of John Roebling and his Son. D. B. Steinman. Harcourt.* $3.50.

JOHN A. ROEBLING, the creator of the stabile suspension bridge escaped the bondage of Prussian civilization, equipped with a sound Prussian technical education, in 1831. By 1837 his Pennsylvania farming venture had failed and he was down to two-dollar-a-day jobs, but sturdily he headed toward engineering. In 1841 he began replacing hemp rope with iron wire. "All the wires being placed parallel to each other, uniformly strained throughout and not twisted; the greatest strength with the least quantity of wire."

By then he was beginning to have a name and to be out from under the heel of the cheap politician. In 1845 he was building the Monongahela bridge. In 1850 he first suggested the Atlantic cable. In 1851-55 he built the Niagara span and suggested that "by substituting . . . steel wire we may nearly double the span." (Meanwhile Ellet's suspension bridge at Wheeling had blown down


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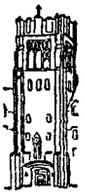

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for lack of "girders, trusses and stays," as was the Tacoma Narrows bridge almost a century later.) Then the Pittsburgh-Alleghany bridge and last, with steel wire, the Brooklyn bridge and lockjaw, which he fought by hydrotherapy. And that monster bridge destroyed his son, too.

Mr. Steinman, an engineer himself, has collected and set forth the dramatic story of the great bridgebuilder and of his equally creative son with force, lucidity and not too much Lytton Strachey. "On April 12, [1861] came the startling news . . . and three days later President Lincoln's call for volunteers. That evening an unspoken tension pervaded the Roebling household. . . . Suddenly, at the supper table, the father turned to his son. . . . 'Don't you think you have stretched your legs under my mahogany long enough?' . . . Washington was eating a hot potato at the moment. . . . The next morning he enlisted—never to return to the parental roof. For four years thereafter he neither saw his father nor communicated with him." A hardy race!

EDWARD L. KEYES.

*Walls Rise Up. George Sessions Perry. Whittlesey.* $2.00.

THIS SLENDER and alleged novel comes bearing the plauditary imprimatur of Harrison Smith. Mr. Smith writes of it, in an introduction, as if he had been the gleeful midwife to Gargantua. The publishers see in this novel a work that has "the vitality of a Brahma bull, while at the same time creating moods as fragile and evanescent as a flash of sea foam."

At this point I ought to stop. But I merely pause to wonder what beautiful nonsense those Whittlesey House organists—drunkards of words—would write if they saw the manuscript of "War and Peace" for the first time.

Actually this is not a novel at all. It is a loose collection of loose people, joyfully and exhortingly held together by some good writing, some good observation, and an enormous dependence on anatomical functions.

Its chief character is a worthless, shiftless, lazy man who is putatively gifted with what passes for a philosophy denied us Puritans who work. He shares some of the qualities of Steinbeck's Doc, in "Cannery Row," but none of his esthetics, vigor, honesty or energy. The whole book celebrates abandonment.

There are three or four women in it through whom Nature is supposed to be glorified. But knowing them would not even be a matter for confession. It would be simply a matter of bad taste.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

*Speaking of How to Pray. Mary Perkins. Sheed.* $2.75.

THE AUTHOR has written simply and beautifully of the theology of prayer and the way the Church prays. Her book shows the loving kindness of God, His grace begetting our love. His love uniting us in common worship, and that worship transforming lives into intelligent, cooperative, saintly fellow-citizens of the praying community. The Mass is explained by oft quoting from the texts of the Missal, but in addition to the holy mysteries the author has used widely other parts of the holy liturgy—the Blessing of the Oils, the Consecration of a Bishop, as well as the others of the seven sacraments. She leads us into texts, and thus into the mind of the Church, which might well escape us, showing that all are of one piece—the matchless robe of glory of the living, functioning Body of Christ. Besides explanations there are homely references to the daily life of a Christian—how his prayer enables him to face suffering and death, this pagan society, the daily grind, the circumstances in which

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we earn our daily bread. There are some beautiful translations of parts of the liturgy and of prayers from the Missal. There are also some excellent references to and explanations of the sacramentals. Concluding her rich display of the ways and the words of Holy Church the author concludes that "our whole lives can be lives of love and lives of joy in Christ our Lord; our work can be His work; our play His play; our suffering, His suffering; our prayer, His prayer; our life, His Life with all the richness of that Life."

*The Cleansing of the Temple. Theodore Wesseling, O.S.B. Longmans.* $1.75.

IT IS refreshing to be told, though not for the first time, that Lent and Easter have a more far-reaching implication than the spiritual well-being of the individual. Father Wesseling discusses these two themes of Lent and Easter in regard to their social implications: Lent as social purification and Easter as social reconstruction. He is stressing the collective responsibility of Catholic Churchmen as members of the Body of Christ—what he calls the fast of the mind and the fast of the will, in preparation for the great act of sacrifice, which is also the "union of the divine and human." Only by such profound self-sacrifice did Christ accomplish the liberty of the sons of men, as manifested in the Easter gospel; and that is a liberty which "belongs also to the community as such" . . . "to create an integral, perfect, harmonious community of man with man, and man with God." Then it will follow that the daily life of the Catholic will be a veritably mystical life: "solitude and public life melt into something simpler which embraces both, that constant communion with Christ." There is a magnificent chapter on the new Encyclical on the Mystical Body of Christ and a final chapter on Christian Unity and Prayer. To read this book is to rejoice anew in the realization that our religion is capable of great things in the midst of today's clamor and uncertainty; that it is a power to purify and energize not only the individual but the whole Body of the Church, and hence the contiguous society which the Church is sent into the world to redeem. An excellent quarry is this book for precious meditations. RICHARD FLOWER, O.S.B.

*Through Japanese Eyes. Otto D. Tolischus. Reynal.* $2.00.
*Japanese Militarism, Its Causes and Its Cure. John M. Maki. Knopf.* $3.00.

OTTO TOLISCHUS is disappointing His first writing showed a tendency toward historical integration. His later books became tendentious in their interpretation of the inadequate amount of Japanese history he advances. His present book is not useful, nor even authentic. His publisher's book-cover does not help by proclaiming a fallacy: ". . . prior to Pearl Harbor the world showed little interest in trying to understand them [the Japanese]. Numerous books have been written about them and explain them, but for the most part they have viewed the Japanese scene completely from the Western point of view. . . ." The exact contrary is true. There is a copious literature, in all Western European languages, in which the whole Japanese evolution and decline is portrayed, and among them many books by eminently sound Japanese authors. Tolischus bases this book on excerpts centering on the years 1935 to about 1942. Hardly long enough to give more than some sort of statistical record of those seven years—not long enough

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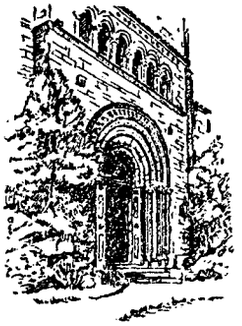
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# Next Week

**MATERIEL RESERVE,** by R. H. Monk, is an intelligent proposal for postwar preparedness that would forestall extreme demands on the nation's manpower and productive forces. It begins with the right disposal of present war surpluses and works up to the suggested accumulation of strategic raw materials and semi-finished constituents of armament. This, together with the conversion of present armament facilities to such mass industries as prefabricated housing, would enable the United States—if the need should arise—to rush into intensive production of the latest weapons without the bottlenecks which held up the current war effort. It would be an effective deterrent to potential aggressors to know that America was in such a state of readiness.

**WHERE JUSTICE IS DUE,** by Richard Arvay, is a hair-raising personal experience story by one of the refugees whom the United States is harboring at Fort Ontario. It is a stirring tribute to the Italian people for the protection which they afforded to the Jews in the face of the nazi Gestapo. At a moment when few Americans have much to say for the Italians it is well to know of things like this.


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certainly to explain what caused a psychological break in 1904—useless for the record left by scientific observers (like Dr. Erwin Gaelz, for example) around the eighteen eighties. Without that record what becomes of such things as the movement around those years to abolish the Japanese language and all Japanese customs, and set up Christianity as the state religion? What becomes of the tremendous up-sweep of Catholic Christianity following Francis Xavier's successors among all classes of Japanese, from daimyos' families to peasants and coolies, a phenomenon reminiscent of the Christianizing of Rome—with the same counter-movement of wholesale persecution? Tolischus cannot take a newspaper observer's eight years in the history of an ancient people and indict the whole people. It is positively dangerous to do such a thing now, when the problem over-shadowing the war itself has already become one of sane reconstruction.

John Maki's book is a superior presentation. He is an American, of Japanese parentage. He has the historical instinct and feel, without which history is a dead thing, not the living evolution which history truly is. He is not a ripe scholar, but he is an earnest research student. He treats his subject objectively. Both people are his own people. He could become outstanding, with ripeness and maturity, in a field which will presently be one of the most important there is. He is an American. His blood is Japanese. These are very few men who can perform this vital service of fostering understanding.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

*A Padre Views South America. Peter Masten Dunne. Bruce.* $2.50.

THIS EXCELLENT, informal travelogue concerns itself for the most part with artistic and historical lore. It makes the richness of South America's Catholic background quite apparent. On present-day matters Father Dunne is all too brief, but his point of view is admirable. He tactfully points out the weaknesses of the Church's present condition in South America and the woeful lack of priests. His remedy: more priests and Sisters from abroad and more Catholic social works. He believes that the fuss North American Catholics made about Protestant missionaries in Latin America defeated its own purpose and tells why. This Jesuit should be encouraged to write more about contemporary Latin American social problems as a result of this and subsequent trips.

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